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VIEWS AND REVIEWS

The thinness of the REVIEW these days and the use of small monographs, reports, etc., in alternate months as substitute for a normal issue, reflects the universal "contributors' strike." Ordinary memberships have held up in numbers only as a result of increasing industry by Miss Howe in finding new members to replace the resignations of the folk who are "cutting down expenses." Mr. Dodds' acceptance of the Nicaragua mission is designed to relieve the treasury and so also is the release of Dr. Hatton, our field director, to take effect in August, or sooner. One phase of our poverty is a lack of working capital wherewith to keep up self-sustaining enterprises. Mr. Bassett's supplement on Zoning, for example, is the handiest, compactest, completest introduction to this live subject ever written, but it is out of print and there is no substitute. Requests for it are incessant. We could make a profit on a new edition. Our Model Charter, another good seller, is exhausted. A fine salable work on "City Planning" by Thomas Adams has waited a year because it runs eight pages or so beyond our limit. The "Pocket Civics" series lists items as "In preparation," but to be frank, they are waiting for a couple of hundred dollars to cover the initial investment. We are living within current revenues but the quantity and effectiveness of our work is sadly restricted.

Have patience with us until times change!

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With the defeat of the Alameda, California, city-county manager charter followed by the defeat of the second trial of the same measure as applied to Oakland alone, there ends for the present an effort that illustrates the characteristic patience of political reformers. The effort began at least eight years ago and involved getting a constitutional amendment and educating the local public. The charter was imperfect by our standards in that it put departments into the control of long-term independent boards appointed by the city-county manager but that was not the reason for its defeat. The defeat was due to inability to persuade the outlying communities to relinquish their expensive independence and enter the consolidated government.

A similar obstacle lies across the path of a similar project in Westchester County, just north of New York City. Here is a huddle of suburbs and manufacturing villages separated in many cases by nothing but imaginary lines that serve no purpose save to multiply officials and tax bills. There are 4 cities, 18 towns, numerous villages, park, water, sewer, lighting, fire and

school districts, 150 taxing bodies altogether, and no means of working in co-operation except through the stage-coach style of county government operated by a debating society of 40 supervisors. Yet at the first hint of organizing this chaos, every fearful little job-holder finds friends everywhere who will join his cry for independence. In some of the petty governments it is difficult to find enough candidates to fill a ticket, so trivial are the duties and the opportunities for either salary or usefulness. Yet that human trait of loyalty to the nearest and smallest geographical and political unit in preference to larger ones will stir people who ought to know better to fierce oratory in defense of the autonomy of these feeble little governments!

The Alameda-Oakland case represents the third time that the creation of a county manager has reached a referendum, the previous cases being San Diego County, California, and Baltimore County, Maryland. All have been defeated, but who of us minds that? The idea is on the map! The next case is Sacramento. Our Model Charter in the city has started off brilliantly, and after a year of blockade by absurd legal quibbles, the county votes to elect a Board of Freeholders on February 18, the purpose of the election being to secure a county manager. And if that fails, there are Westchester and Nassau counties with official commissions at work on new forms of government and after them comes the Michigan county amendment.

A Boston newspaper recently got itself all heated up over the fact that the Massachusetts judiciary is not elective as in most other states, and, as a journalistic feature, went to war on behalf of an amendment to throw the judges into politics. It found almost nothing to say in disparagement of the Bay State's famous judiciary but confined itself to a fantastic vision of the joys of the people in those states where judges are elective. No good American will manifest the slightest diffidence in tackling a question of political science and so there were several crowded hearings in which speakers demanded "that the people be given the right," "that the judges be made directly responsible to the people," "that the people be trusted," etc. The doctrinaires and theorists who furnished the arguments for the proposal were met by an unsound and dangerous defense—namely, that "the appointive method, although undemocratic, gives us high-grade progressive non-political judges." It was assumed on both sides apparently that the elective method was more democratic!

Similar false reasoning necessitated the short ballot movement, but warm friends of that movement, absorbed with the argument that the appointive method of filling obscure offices would be more efficient, have overlooked that it is more democratic to have them appointive by the executive than hand picked by partisan machines as is inevitably the result with long ballots.

The Boston incident shows the desirability of abandoning a silent defensive. Sooner or later the positive fight must be started to take judges off the ballots and make them appointive in the interests of democracy. The so-called elective judges are in reality appointive now, appointive by obscure irresponsible cliques in the dominant party machines—there is nothing democratic about that! And what motives could we not reasonably assign to those who would defend a system of selection so open to secret access of corruption and privilege!

Richard S. Childs.

THE MIDDLEBORO REVOLUTION

BY JOSEPH Q. DeRAAY

THE overturn of the commission form of government in Middleboro, Missouri, following a protracted quadrilateral deadlock between the executive officers, presents an interesting spectacle in American city government.

The "reform" administration elected in 1920 had been in office three months when the commissioner of finance died. The night of the funeral the remaining four commissioners sat up all night trying to determine which one of them was to inherit the duties of the finance department. No decision was reached. The struggle became so bitter that two members refused to meet the other commissioners, and for a time each group held separate meetings and endeavored to enact ordinances and dispose of the city's business. The mayor and the commissioner of public welfare maintained that they were the legal "commission," while the city attorney ruled that they had no quorum and could not, therefore, be considered "in session for the transaction of business." A few months of this dual government brought matters to such a crisis that the two groups split within themselves and a four-cornered deadlock began. Each commissioner refused to speak to any of the others. Each Tuesday night the mayor, who had seized the gavel, called the empty chairs to order and announced the lack of a quorum and went home.

In April the treasurer, an appointee of the dead commissioner of finance, timidly notified the four commissioners that the funds were about exhausted and that it would be necessary for the commission as a body to authorize certain temporary loans. About the same time the assessor also hinted that the assessment roll was ready to be confirmed and the tax extensions entered if the commission would only meet to determine the tax rate. By this time the commissioners had developed such mutual hatreds that injunctions, mandamuses, and libel suits made any compromise impossible. On May 8 the city pay rolls were not met and the banks refused to advance funds to any of the commissioners, though a few individual policemen were paid and the downtown fire station was maintained by the chamber of commerce and the bankers' association.

On May 12 a fire in Hillview Park, a better residence section, which the mayor claimed the commissioner of public safety started, consumed three homes before it went out. This brought on the revolution. Without sheets and masks or grand goblins, those who had gathered to watch the fire organized spontaneously and marched to the homes of the four commissioners and literally dragged them to the city hall and held them in their respective chairs. While there had been no further plan than to force the commissioners to resign, someone suggested that the commission be forced to take advantage of the home rule provision of the state law and call an election to vote for a charter-drafting commission. The ordinance was recorded as adopted by the city clerk, and the resignations were also recorded as offered and accepted. The commissioners were made to realize that if they did not sign the minutes "of their own free will" they would be deported.

That ended commission government in Middleboro. The people voted unanimously for charter revision and the leaders of the "revolution" were elected without opposition.

PARTNERSHIP IN GOVERNMENT

AN EXPERIMENT IN EMPLOYMENT ADMINISTRATION

BY W. E. MOSHER
National Institute of Public Administration

The Post Office Department has created a modern "welfare division" to deal with personnel problems in co-operation with representatives of the employes. :: :: :: :: :: :: :: ::

WHAT with the accumulated results of political appointments, remote and unwieldy civil service administration and autocratic control on the part of executives, the standing of the civil service in this country is generally well below par. In fact in many circles the term civil service has become synonymous with inefficiency. Even that most sympathetic critic of our government, the late Viscount Bryce, felt compelled to place the civil service of the United States at the bottom of the list as compared with the public services in the modern democracies which he so searchingly reviewed. In view of the recent and probable future extensions of the functions of government—municipal, state and national—the thoughtful citizen is bound to view with deep concern the declining rather than the improving status of our civil service. It is, therefore, a matter of peculiar interest and importance that the largest employer of civil workers in the country, the postmaster general, announced an innovation in employment policy some six or eight months ago that promised to put his department abreast of the most progressive private establishments of the country. This innovation may well prove to be the beginning of a new period in public employment management.

In Mr. Hays' first published statement he supplies the text of his program. It runs as follows:

> The success or failure of all enterprises depends more than anything else upon the spirit in which those who have it to do enter upon their tasks.

Having the *spirit right* was dictated in Mr. Hays' mind not alone by good business but also, and not a whit less, by good Christianity. He has repeatedly and unreservedly described his employment program as the 1921 application of the Golden Rule. Good business and good Christianity are, therefore, the foundation pillars on the basis of which the Post Office Department was to be "humanized." Concretely the following policies gradually took form: square dealing, the recognition of merit, the most direct contact possible, the right and privilege of self-expression and satisfactory working conditions.

CREATION OF WELFARE DIVISION

For the purpose of ensuring the adoption and continuous operation of this personnel program, a special division was created which was to be "just as definite in its duties and as certain in its execution as the fiscal or any other department in the government." That is to say, the postmaster general planned to install what is com-

monly called in industry a functionalized personnel department. Although it is termed Welfare Division, its duties are as comprehensive and far-reaching as those of most personnel departments.

Having in mind the progress that had been made in employment control in private concerns, Mr. Hays invited Dr. Lee K. Frankel, a vice-president in the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company, to organize and administer the Welfare Division. Dr. Frankel had had wide experience in this work, having been one of the directing factors in the development of the personnel work of the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company, which now has one of the best known and most copied employment departments in the east.

NATIONAL WELFARE COUNCIL

The first important step of the new division was to find some means of transforming the 326,000 employes into co-workers or "partners," as Mr. Hays has delighted to call them. In his own words "to humanize the service meant to make every man and woman in it feel that he is a partner in this greatest of all the world's business undertakings, whose individual judgment is valued and whose welfare is of the utmost importance to the successful operation of the whole organization." As regards the public service, this is the most interesting and at the same time the most revolutionary phase of the proposed program.

The idea of self-expression and sharing in control inherent in partnership demanded for such an army of workers some form of organization that necessarily had to be based on the principle of representation. Dr. Frankel wisely used the means of such representation already at hand in the form of the national associations of postal employes. There are at present eight organizations. Their presidents and secretaries were called in to discuss the feasibility of forming a national welfare council, then later to suggest, pass on and finally adopt a constitution for such a council.

According to the constitution this council is to be the clearing house and advisory board with regard to all issues affecting postal employes on a national basis. There are no strings attached to the proposed functions of the council. In the words of the brief but comprehensive constitution, it may discuss and consider "all matters affecting working conditions of employes or relations between employes and the Post Office Department, or co-operation between employes, officials and the public." It may further consider appeals from rulings of local administrative officials, either when requested to do so by the Post Office Department or on its own initiative.

A basic guarantee of the official standing of the council is given in that it reports its recommendations through the chairman, the welfare director, directly to the postmaster general. In accordance with the most advanced practice in modern organization, the welfare director, the chief personnel officer, has immediate access to the head of the business and also has his fixed place on the executive board, *i.e.*, the cabinet of the postmaster general. As an executive officer of the first rank, the welfare director can thus bring about readjustments in established administrative practices through the process of co-operation with the other executives—in an old-line establishment like the Post Office Department this is no slight task—but he can also help shape up new policies with reference to the development of the "right spirit" among the workers.

The success of the National Welfare

Council is already an assured fact. The officers of the national organizations who, by virtue of their positions, have often been a medium of protest and criticism, thus actually fulfilling a more or less negative function, have shown in the meetings of the council not merely a willingness to co-operate, but also initiative and enthusiasm in furthering the plans of the head of the department. As the latter expressed it, his contacts with the leaders of the postal organizations who, in the past, had been fighting the postal management, had convinced him that they were "now ready to take off their coats and to go out and tell the other boys to take off their coats and altogether to put the postal department right in the front in service." The proof that he was right in his feeling may be found in the stenographic reports of the meetings of the National Welfare Council. A reservoir of intelligent interest, of worth-while suggestions and criticisms has been tapped, and its possible resources cannot readily be estimated for some time to come.

LOCAL WELFARE COUNCILS

The method of partnership in the local post offices is through the organization of local welfare councils which are authorized for all first-class post offices and centers where any considerable number of railway postal clerks come together. The members of the council number eight. They are elected from the carriers, the clerical and the supervisory force. They hold office for one year. It is their function to consider matters of local interest that would lead to improving the efficiency of the postal service in the given locality. Whatever affects working conditions, such as sanitation, heat and light, appeals and grievances, but also methods of carrying on the work, co-operation between employes, officials and the public, may be passed upon by the council and recommendations forwarded to the local postmaster. As was indicated in the description of the duties of the National Council, the local councils have the privilege of taking up matters not satisfactorily adjusted directly with the central body.

It is difficult at the present time to forecast the ultimate possibilities of this democratic type of organization. Reports, however, indicate that there has been a widespread and vital interest in the formation of local welfare councils. According to a press release in the month of January, some 800 councils had already been organized in various sections of the country. Dr. Frankel points out in this release that the activities of the councils are as varied as could well be the case. The efficiency rating system, the matter of leave, period of payment of salaries, and other questions that vitally affect the workers have been discussed. Working conditions, as, for instance, the question of light, ventilation and cleanliness, have frequently come in for consideration. Also the conditions of work itself, such as the arrangement of the work periods, the possible use of stools at distribution stations, case examinations, and the like, have been handled in a constructive manner.

The council of the Department proper at Washington already has a fine list of achievements to its credit. It has investigated and brought about action with regard to first-aid rooms, an improved cafeteria service, the installation of a library, and a program for entertainments.

This brief summary will indicate that the broad platform of duties and functions outlined in the constitution of the councils has been taken both literally and seriously. It also shows that there seems to be no direction in

which the councils may not become active.

Early in his career as postmaster general, Mr. Hays registered the conviction that the postal employes had "the brains and the hands to do the job well, but that some place along the line the heart had been lost out of the works." The welfare councils are the chief outward expression of his intention to put the heart into the works and thus to enlist a more active cooperation of the brains and hands. One can say that he has already made considerable progress. His job has become to the typical postal employe more than a means of earning a living. He is making his employer's business his business as never before. The councils are stimulating interest and provoking suggestions, but also providing a direct channel of expression to those who are in a position to adopt and enforce whatever is worth while. When it is considered that the Post Office Department with the introduction of the postal savings, parcels post, motor vehicles and aeroplane is now undergoing what amounts to a transformation, the opportunities for constructive co-operation on the part of the men who are doing the work are simply untold. Although the "partners" of the postmaster general are only just getting under way, they have already proved how profitable it is "to put heart into the worker."

THE ENVIRONMENT OF THE WORKER

In the belief that the postal employe should work under healthy and wholesome conditions and that it is the proper business of the employer to provide such conditions, the responsibility for investigating and reporting on working conditions in the thousands and thousands of buildings now housing offices and stations of the Post Office Department was naturally deputed to the Welfare Division. For purposes of observation, the welfare director took a two months' trip in which he swung from one seaboard to the other. He visited a hundred and more offices inspecting working conditions, but also addressing the members of the local staff and bringing to them directly from the head of the organization a message as to the newly adopted employment policy. This personal contact greatly expedited the formation of the welfare councils, but it also provided the postmaster general with first-hand evidence concerning the deplorable and indefensible conditions that are to be met with in all too many offices scattered throughout the country. Practically every good standard, as to air, light, heat, cleanliness, sanitation, is violated in office after office.

The personal inspection carried on by Dr. Frankel was then supplemented by questionnaires which were forwarded to and filled out by 4,000 post offices concerning working conditions and employment matters. These questionnaires consist of 206 questions. They constitute what might be called a labor audit of the first and second-class post offices. They go into the utmost detail. Among other things, they call for the number of individual wash basins for the men and for the women, the number of bubble fountains and water faucets for drinking purposes, also the frequency with which floors are scrubbed or mopped, and the walls and ceilings painted. The questionnaire further requests information as to turnover, methods of getting suggestions and grievances and cultivating good will.

The results of these 4,000 questionnaires are already being digested and plans are being made for improvements necessary to bring about the adoption

of good standards along various well recognized lines. The replies will ultimately form the basis of a constructive employment program as well.

CONCLUSION

The best summary of the results of the workings of the employment policy just described may be found in a recent magazine article prepared by Mr. Hays. He writes:

> I was sure that by merely introducing a different spirit into the relations between the employes and the Department, by making the employes more comfortable and giving them assurance of their future commensurate with their worth and importance as a matter of simple justice—by merely doing this I felt confident we could accomplish the equivalent of adding many thousands of employes to the Department.

At the end of a nine months' trial, he then adds that his assumption has proved to be entirely correct and he feels justified in commending his experience to the attention of employers, both public and private.

But it is not necessary to depend on Mr. Hays' judgment alone as to the success of his policy. Commendatory resolutions have already been passed by a large number of chambers of commerce and other associations as to the improvement in the service rendered by the Post Office Department under the leadership of the present postmaster general.

Generally speaking Mr. Hays' experiment in employment management under civil service conditions is a contribution of no mean proportions. With refreshing directness he breaks through the wall that has usually separated the government administrator from the rank and file of his staff. He appeals to the latter as man to man and invites them to appeal to him as man to man and co-worker to co-worker. As a result he finds them not alone with their coats off, but on their toes, alert and eager to put their shoulder to the wheel.

Thanks to the present postmaster general at least a beginning has been made toward sweeping aside the tradition that civil service is a low-grade service and that it offers no opportunity for a young man or young woman with ambition and ability. But it was just this to which Mr. Hays addressed himself. His goal has been to make public service "more and more a desirable career into which the young can enter with the certainty that the service will be performed under reasonable conditions and for a reasonable wage and for an appreciative people." This is unfortunately, under existing circumstances, a high ambition and one calling for the reformer's zeal and qualities of real leadership.

How difficult this task is can best be understood when one hears governmental executives and legislators, that is, those who should know conditions best, berate the civil service and signify that it is no fit place for able and ambitious young people. It is no less serious that, according to the last report of the United States Civil Service Commission, some forty college and university officials indicate their unwillingness to recommend civil service positions to their graduating students. These conditions, when taken in conjunction with the recent expansion and growing significance of governmental activities, indicate that it is high time that some one in authority should preach the gospel of a civil service career as a worthy and worth-while career and use his power to prove it to be such.

Sooner or later the government, in the name of its own well-being and even from motives of self-protection, will have to reform the status of the

civil service in this country in a most drastic way. There is no reason why government service with us should not bring honor and position just as it does in foreign countries. The government as employer cannot and probably should not compete with business institutions on the score of salaries, but by means of the distinction and standing in the community that it may attach to public office, it can easily and effectively outbid its competitors as may be proved by referring to foreign practice.

Through the Welfare Division and the welfare councils, Mr. Hays has taken a positive step in the direction of rehabilitating the civil service and making the government a good employer to work for. In this procedure he is also showing the feasibility of running one large department of our democratic government in a democratic way. If it is possible to achieve so large a measure of success in the laboratory of the Post Office Department in spite of its many handicaps, such as size, separation of working units, large number of intermediaries, and the like, it may be that other of our public administrators will be encouraged to try out within the limits of their own jurisdiction the basic features of this significant experiment in employment control.

ZONING CHICAGO

BY E. H. BENNETT

Director of Zoning Work for the City of Chicago

The vast task of zoning Chicago to define business, manufacturing and residential districts, to regulate heights of buildings, etc., is well under way and this is an account of the process as Mr. Bennett described it at the American Civic Association's recent convention.

I

THE assessed valuation of property in Chicago in 1920 was over $1,576,000,000, not including railroad properties or parks, making the real estate and improvement values approximately three billion dollars. All of this real estate and improvements are affected by the zoning ordinance now in preparation.

Approximately one billion dollars has been spent in building development in the last ten years in Chicago on industry, business, and housing construction. It is probable that equipment expenses will amount to 25 per cent additional on an average. The total expenditure in thirty years, including the past ten years, is estimated at $5,250,000,000.

The sum total of saving that can be achieved by reason of regulated growth and resultant preservation of values, and creation of new values, etc., in this period,—or in one generation,—it is safe to estimate at not less than one-fifth of this sum, or $1,000,000,000!

II

Zoning in America, however, is to be done not only for the next twenty years but for cities which will no doubt last for centuries. It is important that it be done thoroughly, and for this reason it must be based on a most complete survey of present conditions.

Before we can zone Chicago, we must take stock of what we possess. It is necessary to know in the most minute detail what are the existing conditions of building development throughout the entire *city* area, and to some extent in the territory *lying beyond* the city limits. When this information is obtained, we next have to determine what kind of development will be best suited to the prosperity of Chicago, and then we must put in operation the ordinance necessary to carry this out.

The work of survey is going forward and parties of surveyors are in the field every day surveying conditions and checking up on maps the records of development which already exist. The work is organized to take in outlying districts first, insofar as is possible, due to the fact that winter has begun and conditions for surveying in the outlying districts will be less favorable as time goes on; and the survey will march progressively from the outskirts to the center of the city, finally enveloping and recording the situation in the intensely developed loop district.

At the same time that the field work was begun, a drafting force was organized and is at work on checking, correcting and redrafting, where necessary, the maps, and recording the information gathered in the field. This is a large job and requires a greater number of men than the actual survey in the field. By this work the bases will be created for all of the various special studies which must be made in connection with the zoning work. The total staff is now thirty-two men.

III

The field survey, as is usual, will record all uses to which the present buildings are put, separated into classifications and types, about sixty in number.

The industrial class will cover industries which by their nature are nuisances or objectionable from the point of view of health or comfort of the public; or those which are unobjectionable but which nevertheless belong in the manufacturing class; and an intermediate class in which some manufacturing is carried on and in which wholesale, storage, mail order business, repacking, etc., are included.

The commercial class will include every building of a commercial nature, such as an office building, bank, general business, and retail stores; and the residence class will be differentiated into single houses, two flat buildings, apartment hotels, boarding and lodging houses and clubs.

Classification of these buildings is one of the most important features of the work. Classification, simple in the main under the general terms of Industry, Commercial and Residence, leads, nevertheless, to the most interesting considerations in the fixing of the categories for the actual zoning areas, and *special cases* are numerous. Certain uses,—for instance, public garages, —offer real difficulties. Public necessities, they are to some extent public nuisances. They are a part of a city's transportation facilities and therefore must be broadcast throughout it. The minor manufacturing concerns or retail establishments having small numbers of industrials, clearly must be provided for throughout the city wherever commercial business exists. The classification, therefore, for zoning will pay strict attention to the organized life of the city and its economic necessities.

The Sanborn Insurance Atlases are used in the survey. The field survey includes the following data in addition to that covered by these atlases: the separation of one- from two-family house, and multiple occupancy of houses and flats; state of depreciation of all buildings; check as to uses of

industry; (frequently stores are now used for industry and dwellings for stores) correction of errors; character of neighborhoods as to maintenance; and vacant buildings.

The most vital feature of the entire work is the determination of the Use Districts. The first purpose of zoning is to promote the prosperity and welfare of the city, and with this in view it is necessary to create conditions favorable to industrial enterprise, to the facilitation of business, and to the improvement of living conditions, which in a broad general sense may be said to result from the proper ordering of the industrial and commercial districts. A thorough study of existing conditions, therefore, is necessary in order that the provisions for the future may rest on a sound basis and be consistent with the best development of the city as a whole.

The survey will include not only a record of the uses to which properties are put but will also record the height and percentage of the lot occupied by buildings and the setback.

The survey and routine work is under way,—some 30 per cent of the area is done.[1] The work of outlining the classifications for the record as to the use districts is made. It will be followed by that of height and area districts, all studied and worked out with reference to the findings of the field survey.

In progressive stages, maps will be prepared of various important studies which will have a bearing on the final determination of the zoning plans. These studies include:

(a) The width of streets (Chicago Plan;

(b) Streets open and streets paved;

(c) Street grades where they affect the zoning problem, including all types of railroad crossings;

[1] The survey work is now 78% done and the recording 65% complete.

(d) Time zones of transportation lines, indicating the number of minutes required to go from one point to another in the city, but with special reference to access to the central business district;

(e) Land values where they would affect zoning;

(f) Restricted areas in the new districts having similar restrictions under the zoning ordinance;

(g) The width and depth of lots in residence districts and the setback from the street;

(h) Population densities;

(i) The effect of the zoning plans, as laid out, on the distribution of the working population will be considered;

(j) The areas of lands necessary for the conduct of business and industry in their proportionate relation to residence and expansion;

(k) And also the very important study of the effect of railroad right of ways and yards and waterways on the zoning plan. The chief angle of interest in this consideration is that of recent congressional legislation governing the grouping of railroads.

IV

Following the preparation of the surveys and the work on various special subjects outlined above, a tentative zoning map will be prepared in sections, and conferences held with groups and representatives of associations. This map will be discussed thoroughly during its preparation by the whole commission and then printed, and at the same time a tentative draft of an ordinance will also be prepared and discussed by the commission. This map and ordinance will then be used at a public hearing to be held as provided for in the house bill covering zoning and the ordinance then submitted to the council.

THE ST. PAUL CHARTER FIGHT

BY A LOCAL CIVIC WORKER

THE people of St. Paul have refused to go backward governmentally. On December 29, a proposed aldermanic charter, designed to supplant the present commission plan, was defeated overwhelmingly at the polls. The vote was 15,937 for and 21,551 against. A 60 per cent vote is required to pass a new charter.

Numerous elements entered into this result. The most effective campaigning, however, was made on the issue that the change to be voted upon was not a step forward,—that the proposed charter was not sufficiently better than the present to justify its passage.

The opposition did not attempt to defend the existing form of government. Rather, it was contended that there is need for a new charter, but not for such a reactionary measure as was presented. The opponents pledged themselves to work for a new progressive charter immediately after the defeat of the proposed document. Already steps are being taken to draft a new charter.

The present charter is a hybrid form of the commission plan. There is a legislative body of seven,—a mayor and six commissioners elected for two-year terms. Each member of the commission, immediately after taking office, is appointed by the mayor to administer one of the large departments. The mayor is not an administrative officer. A comptroller is elected as the chief accounting officer of the city. He also has budget-making responsibility, in that he determines the amount of the budget and the commission cannot increase the total in the aggregate over 3 per cent or any item more than 10 per cent.

The proponents of the proposed charter claimed that defects inherent in the commission type are to be found in this charter. Expert administration is precluded; there is an almost continual changing of commissioners. It has failed in a large measure to attract to office men in whom the people have confidence. It has, however, made concrete in St. Paul the meaning of real popular control of the machinery of government.

The proposed charter was a modification of the federal type. Its foes maintained that it was a long, complicated, unintelligible document, drawn in haste, and containing numerous compromises to meet the exigencies of practical politics. Strong objections were made to the manner in which the legislative body was to be secured,—a council of fifteen, twelve elected by wards and three from districts of four wards each. The people had not forgotten their experiences with ward elections before the adoption of the present charter. The mayor, under the proposed measure, was given broad appointive powers, but very little responsibility could be placed upon him, in that there were to be boards for several of the large departments, the members of which were to be appointed by, but not subject to removal by, the mayor. Further, the mayor had not effective control over the devising of the budget and could not be held responsible in any way for the annual financial and work program of the city.

The civil service provisions were attacked because the employes of such departments as purchasing and public works were exempt. The public im-

provement sections were so drawn as to retard rather than promote the growth of the city. Since the mayor was to appoint the board of education and be its president ex officio, it was feared that the schools would be taken into politics.

A bitter campaign was waged to have the new charter adopted. Two daily papers were for it. A new charter committee was formed to work for its passage. However, no large civic organization took any active steps to promote its passage. The Trades and Labor Assembly and the powerful League of Women Voters, as well as one daily paper, were actively against it.

The time was ripe for a change in St. Paul; taxes were high; the people were civically restless; almost everyone conceded the need for a new charter. Yet the people refused to accept a measure that would take them backward, not forward.

Are the experiences in Cleveland, St. Paul, Minneapolis, and Kansas City, an indication that our larger cities are awakening?

THE CITY-MANAGER PLAN, AS IT WAS WORKED IN AKRON

BY GUS KASCH

Former Member of Akron City Council

The city-manager plan started off in Akron in a densely political and partisan atmosphere with a local politically-powerful figure as manager, giving a perfect test which is still working itself out. :: ::

The charter under which Akron is now operating became effective in 1919. The council until January 1, 1922, consisted of eight councilmen elected at large, and a mayor who had no veto power but had a vote as a councilman. On January 1, certain amendments became effective, among them restoration of ward representation and veto power of mayor, but taking away his vote in council.

The advocates of the business-manager plan had represented and really believed that the manager, once chosen by a representative council nominated at partisan primaries but selected on a ticket without partisan designation, would not be influenced by political considerations. They had objected to the federal plan of permitting the people to choose their manager directly (call him that instead of mayor or city president, or city governor), because he would be likely to be influenced by the elements contributing to his election. The idea was, that an out-of-town manager would be chosen, making doubly sure that he would see only, and serve only, the public interest.

The first election was held in 1919; the two opposing parties lined up in the usual manner and the winning party chose as its candidate for mayor an able young man, a lawyer, who had earlier served two years in the office. This party pledged itself to give an administration in conformity with the spirit of the charter and asked to be placed in office because they, rather than their opponents, were friends of the charter and that the charter ought to be administered by its friends. They elected six of the eight councilmen and the mayor, thus gaining seven out of

the nine votes. But what happened after election in the party councils behind closed doors is now leaking out. The argument ran thus: "We have an air-tight Republican council; we have the four, four-year councilmen, and two of the two-year councilmen, as well as the mayor. It will be almost an impossibility for us, at the next election two years hence, to fail to elect at least one, either the mayor, or one of the four councilmen. If then we elect only one, he, together with the four we have for four years, will hold our control. Why not order our councilmen to appoint as manager, the man we elected as mayor? He won (due largely to a wide split in the Democratic party) by the largest majority by which a mayor was ever elected, which proves his popularity with the people. Since he has had two years' experience as mayor, he will probably satisfy the people, even though we are charged with playing politics with the new charter. In this way, also, we shall keep the appointing power in the hands of the organization; if an unknown manager comes in, he may ignore party advice and act on his own initiative, or upon the advice of the chamber of commerce, or business interests, and we shall not be consulted."

The more cautious and less partisan members of the organization objected to the procedure. They forecast defeat at the next election, but the organization prevailed. The elected mayor, after making all the appointments entrusted to him under the charter, tendered his resignation and was immediately elected manager by the council. He then appointed as safety director, the professional party organizer. This man was qualified for the position, as he had organizing ability, and the police department needed reorganizing. He has since resigned to be appointed postmaster.

When there are great struggles to gain hold of the city hall machinery, there is also, usually, a franchise-grant of some kind in sight. This is true in Akron. The transportation company, having also the light and power contracts, faces an expiring franchise in 1924. It, like all the electrics in the land, is heavily "watered." A new contract, recognizing what it claims as value, is very desirable, if not absolutely essential to maintain solvency.

A part of the organization plan was to enter into a new contract with the utility company. It having been arranged in advance that the vice-president of the council was to become mayor by elevation, he was named by the elected mayor as chairman of the public utility committee of the council. Such an important chairmanship would naturally go to the ablest man in the body. The man named to fill the vacancy, however, was one who had never been known to engage in any public activity, a dentist, and a personal friend of a newspaper owner political boss. No sooner had he his chair nicely warmed, than he introduced a prepared resolution, asking that his committee be authorized to write a letter to the utility company, asking that negotiations be entered into looking to a new franchise. Like all other utility companies, the Akron concern naturally wanted to "get out from under" the contract rate of fare, it being no longer so profitable under rising costs of labor and materials, as it had been for the preceding nineteen years. The company had, it was said, "endorsed the notes" of the publishers of two of the three local newspapers in time of need, thus purchasing immunity from criticism, and with a view to a renewal of the fat contract when the time should arrive. That time arrived when our city-manager plan became effective in 1919.

In July, 1920, a pre-arranged walk-out for higher wages by the men and the traction company was staged; this was followed by a conference in the private office of the newspaper-publisher political boss, where the administration was told to give the utility company about what it wanted as "temporary relief" and then get together with it on such a new franchise as it would accept. This "deal," in addition to closed-door sessions of the council utility committee with the city manager and the utility interests, had not only dissatisfied the public with the way in which the new charter was being manipulated, but had caused it to suspect that the utility company had gained control of the administration. This boss-controlled council had four times during the last year passed "a temporary rate increase ordinance," running three months at a time as "*an emergency measure*," in violation of the express terms of the charter. Secret meetings were held in the office of the city manager by the majority members of council, usually just before council meetings. The program there agreed upon was put through council, with the manager sitting on a bench right behind two of his organization members, coaching them and keeping them in line. I was a minority member of the council. I am not an Organization Democrat but, rather, have been one of those who helped "split" the old Democratic organization, in order to make the "Chamber of Commerce—Big Business Combination" let go its strangle-hold on the people's government. They formerly had this under perfect control through the old Democratic organization. I am reciting facts in the foregoing and am not criticizing as an opposing partisan. The city manager is my attorney in an important civic case effecting our water rights which I, as a citizen, am defending at this time in the supreme court of Ohio, and I admire many of his qualities. If choice must be made by me, between the old Democratic gang control of our city and the present control, I would be obliged to choose the latter, with all its faults. I desire, however, a better choice than either, and this was the hope which the new charter held out to me, even though I had not much faith in the manager plan of government.

The spirit of the new charter having been entirely ignored as well as the letter, two movements were started to correct the abuses to which it had been subjected. The first was a recall petition to "oust" the entire charter. A petition to this purpose was signed by 100 per cent more electors than that required by the charter. Another petition was signed by 50 per cent more names than required by the charter, providing for the submission of certain amendments, the chief purpose of which was to prevent the elevation of an elected man to the managership or to any other appointive position. Another feature of this petition restored ward or district representation, eight ward or district councilmen to be elected as well as three at large. The mayor was to be given the veto power but was to have no vote in council, of which he was to be the presiding officer. Nominations in a partisan primary, with the election on a non-partisan ticket, as provided in the charter, were retained. These amendments were submitted, and the charter recall petition was not filed, on condition that, if the amendments were not carried, the charter recall would be asked for. At the ensuing election the manager was the chief campaigner against the amendments. He lost, however, and the amendments carried by a vote of over four to one.

Then followed the nominating primaries for the offices of mayor, three

councilmen at large and eight by wards. A citizens' organization secured the signatures of a majority of the candidates for council, both Republican and Democratic, to a statement pledging them to vote to remove the city manager, in the event of their election. This was done quietly. The Republican organization gave orders to all campaign speakers and candidates to ignore "The Laub issue" (Mr. W. J. Laub being the city manager). They were to say "Laub is not an issue. We will select a man as manager who is qualified to fill the position." Nearly every Republican candidate obeyed those orders. They did not commit themselves upon the question of the present manager's fitness.

At the first council meeting in January, a thunderbolt flashed when a resolution was introduced by a Republican member supported by five of his party and the two Democratic members, demanding that Manager Laub resign. The other three Republican members vigorously opposed, but to no avail. Charges by the manager that party leaders had caused this "ouster" move were denied by those of his party councilmen who had voted to remove him. They declared that they wanted a free hand in selecting their own manager, and that this man would be one who would confine his activities to the duties of that office and not act as dictator of council as Manager Laub had been.

The manager was finally ousted on January 17. If a new start is made to conform to the spirit and purpose of the charter to the effect that "The Chief *administrator* (city manager) *shall be chosen solely upon the basis of his executive and administrative ability,*" then the city-manager form of government will have a chance to demonstrate its worth. It never had a chance under the party control existing during the last two years. The infant was strangled in the cradle when the party organization assumed control of the job. It now looks as though another baby has been born. If it is carefully nourished, it may live and grow to lusty manhood.

DEADLOCK IN PUBLIC UTILITY REGULATION

V. THE RIGHT OF CITIES TO APPEAR FOR THE PEOPLE IN PUBLIC UTILITY ACTIONS

BY JOHN BAUER, PH.D.
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A promising solution of the deadlock, namely municipal action on behalf of consumers before a utility commission as before a court, was headed off by a high court decision last year. :: :: :: ::

In the case of *Morrell* vs. *Brooklyn Borough Gas Co.*, the court of appeals of the state of New York recently (July 14, 1921) decided that the city of New York, as such, had no interest in an action involving the legality of gas rates, and that it could not intervene as a party in an action against the rates. The decision has far reaching importance in that it may be applied to all public utility matters affecting all the cities of New York, and doubtless will

be seized upon as a precedent in other states where municipalities are actively striving to get reasonable rates and service for the people. The large issue is clearly and definitely raised whether a city, as such, may act collectively in behalf of its citizens in matters affecting the general welfare beyond its own property and contract rights or its specific duties as a corporate entity.

The particular action was brought by a private person against rates which were complained of as excessive and illegal. The city of New York asked permission in the supreme court of Kings County to intervene as a party plaintiff acting generally in behalf of consumers, not in regard to rates charged it as a corporation. Permission was granted, but was appealed from by the company; it was then affirmed by the next higher court; then, among other matters, the following questions were certified to the court of appeals for decision: 1. Had the city of New York any interest in this cause of action? 2. Is the city of New York a proper party so that the court at special term had power to grant its application to be joined as a party plaintiff herein?

These questions were decided in the negative and the order of the lower court was reversed. The city had been permitted to intervene particularly under section 452 of the Code of Civil Procedure, which provides that where a person not a party to the action has an interest in the subject, on his application the court must direct him to be brought in. The court of appeals however, held that the "interest" referred to is "a property interest or some duty or right devolving upon or belonging to the party to be brought in;" that the city of New York has no such "interest" in gas rates charged to consumers; that the state alone has power over such rates under the police power. Judge Crane, speaking for the court, stated further:

> We cannot see how the rights, property or duties of the city are in any way involved. A particular rule of law may affect a large number of citizens and yet give the city no such interest as permits it to intervene. Questions might arise which so affected the welfare or rights of all the inhabitants of the city as to justify the court in permitting the municipality being made a party to the proceeding, but this is not such a case.

The interest was thus narrowed down strictly to property and contractual rights of the city, as such, and to duties specifically set forth by law, excluding the broader responsibilities involving the citizens collectively, not permitting a liberal interpretation of the general powers granted to the city by statute and charter.

THE IMPORT OF THE DECISION

The purpose of this discussion is not to make a technical legal analysis and to criticize the court, but to point out the seriousness of the decision and to suggest legislative action to meet the situation. If the decision is as broad as has been claimed, it will prevent all the cities of the state of New York from participating directly in perhaps the most important municipal interests at the present time. Undoubtedly public utility rates, finance, service, and organization are uppermost at the moment among questions of municipal policy. These are matters which finally can be settled only on the basis of public opinion and require participation of the local government. A decision, therefore, which destroys the right of the cities to participate in the proceedings involving these questions goes contrary to natural political and economic development and should be clearly viewed from that standpoint.

As a matter of fact, in the develop-

ment of rate regulation and other public utility matters, the cities have become very important and essential factors. While fixing rates is primarily a legislative function of the state, it concerns, of course, the people of particular communities, and whatever the technical legal view, it affects intimately the local government, which is closer to the needs of the people, and is inevitably looked upon as the proper guardian and promoter of public rights. The local governments have practically been compelled to act for the public in all vital public utility matters; to lead in bringing about proper reduction in rates, to prevent undue increases, to obtain desirable service, etc. What is more natural than to expect locally elected officials to act directly for consumers when these constitute practically 100 per cent of the city's population? Why not look to the government close at hand for protection? Is not the municipal government the natural collective representative in matters that affect seriously the great majority of people?

Moreover, while state commissions have been created to fix and maintain reasonable rates and thus to represent the public, as a matter of fact, these bodies have not performed their function in a satisfactory manner.[1] The reason for this failure is due in large measure to the fact that (1) the commissions are state appointed and are, therefore, not directly responsible or immediately responsive to local needs, and (2) they are *quasi judicial* bodies and are thus required not only to represent the public interest but to safeguard private investors. With this judicial responsibility coupled with other difficulties, the commissions have become to a great extent informal courts, presumably specialized, to hear public utility matters. In the hearings the companies are invariably represented by counsel to present directly the interest of the investors. Similarly, the practice has become established extensively for counsel of the cities to appear in behalf of the public solely to promote the interest of consumers without judicial responsibility. This practice is reasonable and necessary. If the commissions are, in fact, courts to weigh evidence judicially between conflicting parties, the side of the consumers ought to be represented actively just as that of the companies. Such representation can practically be obtained only if the cities as such appear in the common interest of consumers.

[1] See the writer's "Deadlock in Public Utility Regulation," NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, September, October, November, 1921, and January, 1922.

CHANGE THE LAW

It is this practical and almost inevitable situation which has brought about the activity of the cities in public utility proceedings and litigation. If this is now prevented, the reasonable and necessary course is to change the law. While the commissions serve an essential purpose, this does not exclude on fundamental grounds the appearance of the cities to defend and promote the interests of the citizens. The latter function is altogether different from the commissions'. The cities appear as litigants on behalf of the people, seek definite results without judicial responsibility to private investors, are concerned solely with the interest of the public, just as counsel for the companies represent exclusively the rights of the corporations, leaving judicial responsibility and final decisions to the commissions, subject to appeal to the courts.

The special point here is that the law

should be amended if necessary to give the cities the right to represent consumers collectively in all public utility matters. To a layman, however—who has followed the development of public utility law with great professional interest—it is not clear why the court was perforce compelled to exclude the city from such representation. The identity of interest between a municipality and its inhabitants has been recognized repeatedly; thus in the case of *International Railway Co.* vs. *Rann* (224 N. Y. 83, 89), Judge Pound stated that "as a legal conception the [municipal] corporation is an entity distinct from its inhabitants, but it remains a local community; a body of persons; the sum total of its inhabitants and the proper custodian and guardian of their collective rights." These words express most clearly the situation and apply completely to the large issue in question. Further under the charter of the city of New York, the city was given express authority over the grant of franchises, particularly to secure efficiency of public service at reasonable rates; and the corporation counsel was given the power to institute actions in law or equity to maintain the rights of the city and "of the people thereof." Why not include the right to obtain reasonable rates and service in these general powers? Likewise in the so-called home rule bill, there is the broad grant of power to the cities of the state to promote the general welfare of their inhabitants; why exclude questions of public utility rates and service affecting the great majority of the people?

There is also the further technical argument that the very grant by the municipality permitting the use of the streets by a corporation carried with it a fundamental restriction upon rates and other acts of a public service corporation. The city is the trustee of the streets, and the grant could be given only for a public purpose. This itself recognizes the public character of the service, establishing the right to reasonable rates and proper service, making unlawful private profits above a fair return, even if no special restrictions upon rates are included in the franchise. Would it not be reasonable, therefore, to infer an inherent duty of the municipality to see that the public interest in the grant is properly carried out, so that the public privilege is not, in fact, made the vehicle of excessive profits to private investors, or is otherwise used in disregard of the public service? Why not view this as a proper duty of the municipal authority? Why limit the recognized legal interest to mere financial, contractual or proprietary claims of the city itself, viewed merely as a separate corporate entity? Why exclude the broader interest of the people who constitute the city?

ADVANCED POLICE METHODS IN BERKELEY

BY HAROLD G. SCHUTT
National Institute of Public Administration

High-grade policemen, one-third of them college graduates, plus an appropriate utilization of their brains, have made Berkeley's police force famous and their chief the president of the Association of Chiefs of Police. :: :: :: :: :: :: :: ::

BERKELEY, CALIFORNIA, has in recent years attracted considerable attention because of the excellence of its police department. Attention for such a reason is rather unusual. There are several features about the Berkeley department that are different from those found in the ordinary department. For example, all the patrolmen do most of their patrolling in automobiles, and one of those gentlemen possesses that title so much affected by college professors—doctor of philosophy. Since police work is so largely a matter of personnel, it may be well to discuss that subject first.

Speaking of personnel, it has been the writer's observation that most people think of the Berkeley Police Department and Mr. August Vollmer as synonymous. Mr. Vollmer was elected marshal of the city in 1905 when the department consisted of a "desk, a broken chair and three assistants," and has been its chief since that time although the type of government has changed. To him belongs the credit for the development of scientific police methods as they are practiced in Berkeley. Berkeley now operates under a commission government charter, but the greatest virtue of the commissioner of public health and safety, as far as police is concerned, is his non-interference with the policies of the chief.

The first point in personnel is selection. The chief exercises full control of hiring and discharging, there being no civil service provisions applying to the department. He chooses his men largely by means of mental examinations, using tests like those given in the army to determine a candidate's intelligence. Considerable emphasis is placed upon the applicant's reason for joining the force, as Mr. Vollmer wants men who are looking forward to a career in police service. One result has been that instead of getting taxi drivers and mechanics he has secured thirteen university-educated men for his police force of thirty-three men. The chief believes that for every time a policeman is called upon to use his brawn his brain is needed a thousand times. Consequently high intelligence has been deemed more important than mere physical health.

UTILIZING GOOD BRAINS

Having secured university men for cops does not, however, make a police department. They probably do not know any more, if as much, about police work as a taxicab driver, but they do have greater ability to learn. Herein enters the Berkeley police training school. Mr. Fosdick, in "American Police Systems," says that it is the most ambitious that has been attempted

in America.[1] The course extends over a period of three years, the first year courses being—physics; chemistry, physiology and anatomy; criminology, anthropology and heredity; and toxicology. The second year surely requires a college education—criminal psychology; psychiatry; criminology, theoretical and applied; police organization and administration; police methods and procedure. The third year completes the course with microbiology and parasitology; police microanalysis; public health, first aid to the injured; elementary and criminal law. A large part of the instruction is given by Mr. Vollmer and Dr. Albert Schneider, who has the title of dean of the school. Dr. J. D. Ball, a psychiatrist of Oakland, Mr. E. O. Heinrich, an examiner of questioned documents of San Francisco, the city attorney and others give considerable instruction. Except for the first two mentioned this work has been gratuitous. Dr. Schneider, who is connected with the University of California, receives a small compensation for his work.[2]

When a new man enters the department he is given some individual training to enable him to do fairly good patrolling and then he takes the training school work as it is given. The courses occupy from one to five or more hours per week. Every Friday at four o'clock the whole department, with the exception of a skeleton force which is kept on duty, meets for one hour. The men call this the "crab club." At this weekly meeting the chief explains any of his orders, the reasons for which are not clear to the men, the men make suggestions that have occurred to them and voice their complaints if they have any. Chief Vollmer feels that this discussion does much to develop team play in the department. If there is nothing else to occupy the hour a lecture is given. Not long ago a professional safe-blower explained the technique of his trade and other crooks have given first-hand information as to the methods used by criminals.

Mention should also be made of the courses in criminology that are given during the summer session of the University of California, which is located at Berkeley. There has been very close co-operation between the police and the university. This past summer Mr. Vollmer, Mr. Heinrich and Dr. Ball have given four courses in criminology. When possible, recruits to the police departments take these courses.

AUTOMOBILE PATROLS

As has been said, the newcomer, while taking the training school work, has also been patrolling and instead of walking about getting flat feet he has been patrolling de luxe. Each patrolman furnishes his own automobile and is allowed thirty dollars a month in addition to his salary. The department furnishes gasoline and oil not only for his official duties but also for any pleasure driving that he may do. The average distance traveled by each car is over a thousand miles per month, which for Berkeley's twenty patrolmen amounts to about two hundred and fifty thousand miles in a year. Berkeley is a city of sixty thousand people covering a compact area of nine square miles. It is largely residential, the business center being small, due to the proximity of Oakland and San Francisco. There is a growing industrial section along the bay shore. For patrolling this type of city, autos seem to have been very successful.

[1] Fosdick, "American Police Systems," p. 299.

[2] The article in the *Journal of the American Institute of Criminal Law and Criminology* for March 1917, written by Mr. Vollmer and Dr. Schneider, further describes the training school, and is practically up to date.

One of the things that Chief Vollmer has tried to obtain has been constant touch between headquarters and the man on duty on the street. This is obtained by means of red flashing lights located at the principal corners about the city and where each one would be most readily seen by the patrolman driving his car. By means of switches at the sergeant's desk he can flash these lights and call a patrolman to a box, and in this way give any orders that are necessary. Since these lights are not so clearly visible in the daytime twenty-five horns have been installed. These are used during the day for emergency purposes. If the need of the officer is not urgent the lights are used, as persons living near one of the horns have found the noise objectionable. They sound like low-pitched automobile horns. These devices have made it possible to reach a policeman on his beat in two or three minutes at the most and send him where he may be needed. But this has not satisfied the desire for progress. Experiments have been made in equipping the police cars with wireless telephones which could be in constant contact with the police station. Certain technical difficulties have arisen, but they are on a fair way to being overcome.

The patrolman in Berkeley has considerable discretion in covering his district. He is held responsible for conditions there and he can use his own judgment in many ways as to how he shall police it. The sergeant remains at the station most of the time, where he can direct his men when necessary when they call in hourly, or by means of the signal system. He occasionally drives out on a tour of inspection. The ambulance and emergency wagon are handled by two men in the record room who have time for answering the calls that come in.

RECORDS THAT HELP

Another feature of which Berkeley can be justly proud is the record system. The complaints as they come in are entered on cards and filed by serial number. The reports of the officers assigned to the case are attached to the original card and filed with it. If a case has not been closed a metal tag is attached to the card and the case is watched until the officer in charge has completed the investigation and satisfactory reports have been made. One cause for the success of the Berkeley department and the high esteem in which it is held in the community is the thoroughness with which complaints are treated. These cards are indexed according to person making complaint, crime complained of and person mentioned in complaint. There are now some sixty-six thousand of these records on file — a history of the department since 1905.

A modus operandi sheet is filled out for each complaint involving theft, fraud, property taken by violence, or where an entry has been made to commit burglary. This may not mean much to a layman, but many criminals have a particular method of performing and a record of the method used in crimes committed helps to apprehend the offender.

The finger-print file contains sixty thousand prints properly classified. Berkeley maintains exchanges with about twenty-five cities and institutions, so that the identification files are constantly growing. There are twenty-seven thousand Bertillon measurement records and twenty thousand English circulars. The picture gallery contains almost as many pictures.

The criminal index file is very complete and is used to index the different identification files. It contains cards giving name (filed also under each

alias), criminal record, description and reference to the finger print, Bertillon or other files. When cards are made for this file a duplicate is made and is filed under the crime committed.

There is also a stolen property file in which different colored cards are used to indicate different classes or articles. They are filed according to distinguishing number or initial when possible.

From the records certain interesting pin maps have been made. One shows the distribution about the city of the different classes of crime; others show the same thing for each of the three details. If the chief knows what crimes are committed, where and when, it is easier to prevent crime or to apprehend the criminal. Another map shows casualties and their nature. Still another, which will be discussed later, is that showing juvenile delinquencies.

The superintendent of records is a handwriting expert and is so recognized throughout the United States. One of the clerks is a finger-print expert; in fact specialization exists throughout the department. Mr. Larson, the Ph.D. who has been mentioned, has made two contributions to finger-print research regarding racial characteristics of finger prints and transmission from generation to generation of finger-print types. He has also prepared a paper on the use of the sphygnomanometer, or blood pressure apparatus in police work. This devise registers the regularity and intensity of the heart beats and of breathing. It has been found that when questions are put to a suspected person the regularity of the heart and breathing, over which the person has no conscious control, indicates whether the truth is being told or not. Incidentally this apparatus was used recently in a case of theft at the university. A girl under suspicion was cleared and another who was not suspected was easily detected. Had the guilty person not been found it is difficult to say what stain might have attached to the reputation of the girl who was generally suspected, and her college career might have been made most unpleasant.

The use of the camera in police work has also been developed in Berkeley. This is especially true in connection with the microscope. While the writer was in Berkeley he saw some photographs of human hairs that were so much enlarged and were so plain that within certain limits the age of the hair and whether it was from a male or female could be told.

THE PREVENTIVE WORK

We now come to the other and more important police function — crime prevention. Some crime has been prevented because professional criminals know that the police are efficient and so do not operate there. But something more positive than that has been done by educating the public to believe in the police so that when they see something suspicious they report it. This education has been secured largely by developing more contacts between police and public. Chief Vollmer has spoken at meetings of almost every organization in Berkeley — Church, social and business clubs, university classes, American Legion, fraternities, Y. M. C. A. It has now become a habit for a citizen, or more likely a citizeness, to call in the police for the most minor matters. Since the department, like an automobile agency, says "service is our motto," it is glad to get these calls and they make for a better understanding between all concerned.

Chief Vollmer for the same reason has a high regard for junior police. He told the writer that "some of the boys, former members of our old junior

police organization and now prominent men in the community, are among our greatest boosters and contribute to the welfare of the department in various ways." At present the boy scout organization is very strong in Berkeley and most of the junior police work is carried on through it. Mr. Vollmer endeavors to meet with the scouts once a month and talk to them. To be successful, he believes that junior police or boy scouts must have able leadership.

A map showing juvenile delinquency has already been mentioned. By means of beads and pins of different colors the location of cases of delinquency, low intelligence, truancy, and miscellaneous juvenile offenses is shown for both boys and girls. The data to make this map is secured from school reports. By watching these minors it is possible to prevent them from developing into criminals as they grow older. As in the case with junior police it is the policy of the police to get in touch with the citizens of the future while they are still young, to help correct any deficiencies that may exist and try to make good Americans of them.

As may be surmised, when minors come into the hands of the police, effort is made to find cause that led the boy or girl astray and to remedy the condition, making punishment for the offense committed a secondary matter. Not long ago four boys, ranging in age from eleven to sixteen years, were in trouble for stealing. One was somewhat feeble-minded, but the others were mentally strong. They had become sex offenders and unless something was done the boys would very likely turn out badly. By co-operation with the boys' parents the conditions which had led them into bad practices were changed and the future is promising both for the boys and for society.

Such is the nature of the police work in Berkeley. That it has been successful is shown by the fact that the number of crimes committed has grown but little in recent years in spite of the growth of population and a crime wave that is supposed to be sweeping over the country. In 1911 there were ninety-eight cases of first degree burglary, in 1915 there were eighty-six, and in 1920 there were one hundred and twenty-three. For petit larceny for the same years the figures were three hundred and ten, four hundred and fifty-one, and four hundred and sixty-nine. Another proof that Berkeley methods have something to do with crime prevention is that there was a sharp upward trend in the number of crimes committed after several men left the department to join the military service when the United States entered the war. This condition continued until the new men were trained.

COSTS

The Berkeley patrolmen receive one hundred and forty dollars per month in addition to the thirty dollars that they receive for their car upkeep. Clerks receive the same salary as patrolmen except that they do not have cars. Sergeants receive one hundred and sixty dollars per month and twenty dollars for car upkeep. Detectives receive one hundred and seventy dollars as salary and twenty-five dollars for car upkeep. The superintendent of records receives two hundred and twenty dollars, and the chief of police receives three hundred dollars. The total budget for the present year is eighty-five thousand dollars, or about a dollar and forty-two cents for each resident of the city.

The writer, speaking with several persons who were interested in police work in large cities, expressed doubt whether methods such as are used in Berkeley would be workable in the

large cities. When one stops to consider that the greater part of most large cities is residential and that Berkeley might be considered a precinct in the great metropolitan area surrounding San Francisco, one wonders if the large city cannot learn from the Pacific Coast city. However, some one has said that the medium-sized city is the present American municipal problem and here conditions are not so different from those existing in Berkeley. That one city of a hundred thousand people sees promise of help is shown by the fact that this last summer the chief of police of Tacoma, Washington, and four other officers from that department spent several weeks in Berkeley taking the courses in criminology at the university and studying the methods of the local police department.

That Chief Vollmer's efforts have not been entirely unappreciated may be indicated when it is said that his salary this year received an unsolicited increase and that at the last convention held in St. Louis in June he was elected president of the International Association of Chiefs of Police.

PETERS OF BOSTON

A REFORM MAYOR WHO DID NOT FAIL

BY W. B. MUNRO

Roscoe Conkling once remarked that when Dr. Johnson spoke of "patriotism" as the last refuge of the scoundrel he ignored the vast possibilities which are latent in the word "reform." Conkling was not alone in his dislike of the term. Theodore Roosevelt defined it as something with a "lunatic fringe" attached, and Brand Whitlock later paid left-handed homage to reformers by defining them as a group of men and women who feel a solemn responsibility "for the shortcomings of others."

At any rate there is a widespread belief that a municipal "reform" administration is bound to be a disappointment, even to its own supporters, because it promises more than it can perform, and goes out of office after a single term leaving a trail of popular resentment in its wake. Too often, it is true, this has been the record of the strictly honest man in municipal office. But it is not always so. The experience of the past decade, in more than one of our great communities, has demonstrated the fact that a municipal administration can be efficient and honest without being impractical or becoming unpopular. It is well that such achievements be made known. They give courage to the faint in the long battle for civic decency.

Andrew J. Peters was inaugurated mayor of Boston in February, 1918. His record as a member of congress and as assistant secretary of the treasury warranted the expectation that he would prove to be one of the best mayors in the city's history, and this expectation, during the past four years, he has entirely fulfilled. The Boston city charter renders the mayor ineligible for immediate re-election; had it not been for this obstacle Mr. Peters would probably have been pressed into service for another four years. Setting out with no lavish array of promises, and attempting no wholesale reconstruction of the city's public affairs, he has none the less attained the chief

objective to which any sane municipal administration should address itself—namely to leave every department of the city's service in better shape at the end than it was at the beginning. This objective has been attained, moreover, in spite of the fact that the past four years, by reason of the war and its aftermath, have been the most difficult years of the past half century.

Mayor Peters has not been a reformer of the orthodox type. He did not begin his term as mayor by promising to reduce taxes and at the same time to expand service; he was sufficiently versed in the actualities of administration to know that both things cannot be done concurrently. He believed that when people demand efficient government they expect to pay a reasonable price for it. Taxation is merely the cost of the public service apportioned among the people. It is not difficult to put through a scheme of greatly-extended service to the community if the lid of the tax rate is taken off. Nor is it hard to make a material reduction in the city's annual tax burden by compelling the inhabitants to do without services which they have a right to demand. The real problem is to maintain things at maximum efficiency without unreasonably augmenting their cost.

To maintain standards in municipal administration during the past four years without a higher tax rate has been impossible in Boston as in other large cities. Everywhere, owing to the high costs of materials and labor, the burden of local taxation has grown at a rapid rate. The Boston tax rate, which was $17.70 per thousand in 1917, had risen to $24.70 in 1921, an increase of nearly 50 per cent in four years. This, however, is almost exactly the average rate of increase for all the cities of Massachusetts.

AN ACHIEVEMENT IN ECONOMY

But the foregoing figures do not tell the whole story. A substantial fraction of Boston's tax levy goes to defray expenditures which are not under the mayor's control. The schools, for example, which are in charge of an independent elective board, required in 1918 a levy of only $4.48 per thousand of assessed valuation; in 1921 they took $8.03 per thousand. The police department, which in Boston is under state control, likewise increased its expenditures during these years. And Boston's share of the state tax mounted considerably. In the departments directly under the mayor's control there has been since Mr. Peters assumed office, an actual reduction in the share of the tax levy required for the conduct of their affairs. In 1918 these departments required a levy of $12.37 per thousand; in 1921 their share was $11.53 only.[1] Can any other American mayor show, during these years, an actual reduction in the tax levy required by the various departments under his control?

CUTTING THE CITY'S DEBT

Boston has actually reduced its net debt during the Peters administration. It may well be questioned whether any other large city can show a similar achievement during the past four years. In February, 1918, when Mayor Peters took the reins, the net funded debt of the city was $52,198,425; at the close of 1921 it was less than $47,000,000. A reduction of more than five millions has been accomplished in less than four years! The subjoined table indicates

[1] The exact figures are: 1918, $12.37; 1919, $12.13; 1920, $11.90; 1921, $11.53. The portion of the tax rate which went for schools, on the other hand, was: 1918, $4.48; 1919, $5.02; 1920, $7.14; 1921, $8.03.

the extent of the progress made, not only in liquidating the direct obligations of the city, but the other indebtedness for which the city has practically the entire liability.[1]

STREET CONSTRUCTION

The foregoing economies, effected and maintained through a difficult period, did not preclude material progress in city improvements. In the matter of street construction, for example, the Peters administration paved or rebuilt 388 miles of streets. Despite the general interruption of public work during the war months of 1918, this is the best street construction record in the city's history. The cities of the United States, or of any other country for that matter, which saw more street work done during the three years 1918–1921 than in any previous triennium, are certainly few and far between. Boston's streets are even yet a long way from what they ought to be. They have suffered from the parsimony and neglect of years gone by. But they are in better shape to-day than they have been at any time since the turn of the century.

PUBLIC BUILDINGS

Between February 1, 1918, and November 30, 1921, Boston appropriated for public buildings (apart from schools) $1,582,000. The constantly increasing demands for school accommodation have been met by an expenditure of $5,763,123 on school buildings, in which the largest items are $1,200,000 for a new high school in Dorchester, and $950,000 for a new public Latin School in the Back Bay. For playgrounds, during this period, $928,135 has been spent. The most important provision under this head is for a new gymnasium building, with baths and a swimming pool, in South Boston, to cost around $400,000, of which $200,000 is included in the above figure, the remainder awaiting action, at this writing, in the city council, with no question as to its favorable decision. This gymnasium is to be of the most modern type, and when completed will be one of the finest buildings of its sort in the country.

FIRE PROTECTION

The problem of providing the city with better protection against fire has been vigorously and successfully met in Boston during the past four years. When Mr. Peters came into office, the discipline of the fire department left much to be desired; the apparatus had not been kept up to date and much of it was inferior in quality. All this has been changed. The mayor set out to improve the discipline and modernize the apparatus. Long before his term came to a close he had succeeded in doing both. A training school for officers in the fire department is one of the fruits of the new order.

The high pressure fire protection service which was under construction in

[1] DEBT OF THE CITY OF BOSTON AND COUNTY OF SUFFOLK
NET FUNDED DEBT NOVEMBER 30, 1921, COMPARED WITH JANUARY 31, 1918

	City Debt	County Debt	Water Debt	Rapid Transit Debt	Total
January 31, 1918	$52,198,425.45	$1,623,223.77	$368,000.00	$30,380,527.82	$84,570,177.04
November 30, 1921	46,830,923.41	1,449,961.90	275,678.27	31,200,164.16	79,756,727.74
Decrease	$5,367,502.04	$173,261.87	$92,321.73	$819,636.34*	$4,813,449.30

* Increase.

1918, the victim of exasperating delays, has been carried to completion. The mains have been finished; two pumping stations have been constructed, and the system is now in operation. At no previous time in its hundred years of history as a city has Boston been so well secured against a conflagration.

AIDING THE SICK AND THE POOR

Not all the achievements of the Peters administration were embodied in debt reductions, streets, buildings and fire apparatus. The city's eleemosynary institutions received a considerable share of the mayor's personal solicitude. In 1918 the Long Island Hospital and Almshouse were found to be poorly protected against destruction by fire. This danger has now been reduced to a minimum by the installation of equipment which cost the city more than $100,000. The management of these institutions, moreover, has been greatly improved. They are believed to be as well equipped to-day, and as well conducted, as any similar institutions in the country.

When Mayor Peters came into office he found that various other city institutions for the care of delinquents, dependents and the sick were each under the supervision of unpaid trustees. With the concurrence of the city council the administration of them all was consolidated under the control of a single paid commissioner. The saving in money has proved to be considerable, but greater still has been the general improvement in service and efficiency.

THE MORALE OF THE CITY'S WORKING FORCE

But the balance sheet of a city administration cannot be entirely cast in figures. No matter how strong the evidence of historical progress may be, no mayor can rightly call his administration a success unless he manages to impress his qualities of leadership upon that army of subordinates, from highest to lowest, without whose full co-operation the daily routine of local government cannot be well performed. Mayor Peters soon won the confidence and respect of the city's working force. He dealt with them frankly and fairly. Within the limits of the city's financial resources he was generous in raising the scale of salaries and wages. On the other hand there has been no padding of payrolls and no making of sundry jobs for political favorites. The employes of the city have been given a feeling of security; their work has been judged without partisan bias. No mayor could ask for more genuine co-operation than Mr. Peters has had from the whole corps of appointive municipal officials and employes during his four-year term. Without this loyalty he could not have secured results.

ALWAYS ON THE JOB

During his term of office Mayor Peters spent no time talking politics, or building political fences, or oiling up a political machine. He devoted more hours to his office than the average business man spends at his desk, and his office was no rendezvous for politicians of any stripe. For most of what Andrew J. Peters has achieved during these four years at the Boston City Hall he can thank a level head and a capacity for hard work. The many things which seemed to "happen right" during his administration were the outcome of thought, planning, patience and industry. It is not often that a mayor goes out of office with a stronger hold on the confidence of the electorate than when he came in. Mayor Peters has demonstrated that it can be done.

NOTES AND EVENTS

I. GOVERNMENT AND ADMINISTRATION

Pittsburgh Graded Tax Plan.—The Allied Boards of Trade in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, have issued a pamphlet entitled "The Pittsburgh Plan" praising the results of the Graded Tax Law of 1913. By this law which covers Pittsburgh and Scranton, the tax on buildings was marked down 10 per cent in 1914, another 10 per cent in 1916, again in 1919, 1922 and 1925, thus bringing the tax rate on buildings to half that on land.

*

New Sources of Municipal Revenue (Compiled by New Jersey State League of Municipalities, Trenton).—This is neat mimeograph volume of 40 pages describing 28 things that can be done to help make ends meet—e.g., central purchase, clean the water mains, use special assessments, high interest, zoning, full value assessments, etc., etc.

*

International Garden Cities and Town Planning Association holds an International Conference at Olympia, London, March 14, 15, 16, at the Daily Mail Ideal Home Exhibition. The program includes an afternoon on "Steps required to get garden cities started throughout the world," another on "Reduction of Building Costs," and a visit to the new garden city of Welwyn.

*

Progress of Zoning.—38 cities have now been zoned, and zoning is under way in 42 more according to a list recently published in "Better Housing."

*

Electric Voting in Texas House of Representatives.—The lower house of the legislature is installing an electric roll call device which is expected to shorten the roll call operation from 15 minutes to 11 seconds and save 10 working days per session. Iowa and Wisconsin legislatures have such devices, and the New York legislature is investigating.

*

New Forms of County Government having been made possible for them by the passage of a constitutional amendment, Nassau and Westchester Counties, adjoining New York City, have promptly created good official commissions to devise legislation which they will submit to the legislature of 1923 and then to local referendum.

*

Referendum Petitions against a Gerrymander are being prepared by Democrats in Missouri who claim that the Congressional Re-districting Act is unfair to them.

*

A County Manager for Muscogee County, Georgia, was recommended by a grand jury in January. A majority of the voters of the county endorsed the principle recently in voting for the Columbus city-manager charter.

*

Cleveland Suburbs Seek Annexation.—Petitions for annexation votes are started or contemplated in 12 suburbs of Cleveland including Lakewood, East Cleveland, and Cleveland Heights, whose tax rates would be lowered thereby. Leaders of the effort say "Adoption by Cleveland of the city-manager form of government has caused a tidal wave of annexation sentiment in the suburbs and those opposed because of bad politics in Cleveland have lost their argument."

*

West Hartford, Connecticut.—Proportional representation, which was tried experimentally by the town last year, has been formally adopted for the future elections of town councillors. Only one citizen opposed the system at the hearing on the P. R. ordinance, and the vote of the council was unanimously in favor. For the elections of 1922 and 1923, the fifteen councillors will be chosen from four election districts. At the election of the latter year, a referendum is to be taken on the question of electing all councillors at large. The changing sentiment of the past year indicates that election by districts will be abolished.

*

Sacramento's County-Manager Effort.—The district attorney of Sacramento County attempted, with a touch of comedy, to block the proposals for the election of a board of freeholders to frame a county manager charter. He declared the first petition for the election to be illegal and thereby delayed the matter sufficiently

to prevent the writing of a charter in time for submission to the 1922 legislature. The Superior Court reversed the district attorney and declared the petition to be legal, but the district attorney forthwith made appeal to the higher court, thus continuing the suspension of the call for the election. Meanwhile, a second petition, free from the objection which he had alleged, against the first, was gotten up and presented, whereupon the district attorney declared the second petition to be illegal on the ground that the first petition had become legal, and that no second effort could be made until the completion of the litigation on the first!

After a year of delays, the election of 15 freeholders to draft a charter took place on February 18.

✤

Alameda's County-Manager Proposal Defeated.—The long agitation for a combined city and county government in Alameda County, which includes the cities of Oakland and Berkeley, California, culminated on November 15 when the Alameda City-County Manager Charter was submitted to referendum under the provisions of a special amendment to the constitution.

All the small cities in the county voted "No" overwhelmingly, while the city of Oakland voted "Yes." The smaller cities were unwilling to merge their individuality into the single municipality. The total vote on the proposition was 35 per cent of the registration.

The next step required was for the board of freeholders, which drafted the proposed combination charter, to reconvene within fifteen days of the election and adjust the provisions as to boundaries, to comprise merely the area of the city of Oakland and two towns, Emeryville and Piedmont. Another election was then held on February 7 at which Oakland, Emeryville and Piedmont voted on the acceptance of the charter providing for a united city and county of Oakland. This meant the division of Alameda County, to which strenuous objection was made, and the charter was defeated.

✤

New State Park Efforts.—Two of the most important state park enterprises are the Save the Redwoods League and the Natural Parks Association of Washington. The redwoods in question are the oldest and most majestic of living things. Unfortunately, these marvelous trees, found nowhere in the world except on the northern California coast, not only have the quality of exciting wonder, but they can be made alas! into excellent barrel staves, shingles, grape stakes and the like. The demand for these is insatiable, but so far, the demand for natural miracles is limited.

The League is trying to get an emergency state appropriation to purchase groves along the state highway in Humboldt County, and to raise by private subscription an equal amount. They have had a survey made and are bringing pressure to bear on the Federal Government to establish a National Redwood Park. They have taken part in the spending of over $100,000 in ransoming the redwood groves along the state highway. They have enlisted the co-operation of the lumbermen, and the lumbermen, who own most of the redwood lands, have met them rather more than half way, for they have agreed to defer cutting them until the League has had a reasonable time to arrange for purchase.

HAROLD A. CAPARN.

II. CITY-MANAGER NOTES

Kenosha, Wisconsin, (population 33,500,) under leadership of women voters, adopted the city-manager plan January 24 by a vote of 3,770 to 2,898.

Other additions reported are Chico, California (population 8,876) taking effect April, 1923; Bartow, Florida (population 4,040) taking effect March 7; Excelsior Springs, Missouri (population 4,167); Findlay, Ohio (population 18,000); Daytona, Florida (population 4,475).

✤

Akron Fight Clears at Election.—As related elsewhere in this issue, the selection of first mayor Mr. Laub, as city manager two years ago, developed a tense partisan political situation that continued until the recent election with Laub as a storm center. The new council has removed Laub by an 8 to 3 vote and has appointed Homer C. Campbell, a local real estate man, at a new salary rate of $7,500 instead of $10,000, beginning February 1.

✤

Mix-up in Wheeling Clears Itself by a Recall.—The Wheeling, West Virginia, charter is one of the three that require the manager to be a local man. At the city election of May, 1921 the

city clerk, H. C. Crago, is charged with having taken a ballot box home at night, stuffed it, and by this and other acts procured the election of his friends, the old council, who then appointed him manager. He and the city solicitor, the fire chief and a majority of the council were indicted. The fire chief has been convicted and the other cases are pending. Election count laxity is not unknown in Wheeling politics, but this stirred the town, and in a hot recall campaign Crago's friends were defeated and Crago was ousted in January.

⚜

New Managers.—S. O. Hale, Xenia, Ohio, Homer C. Campbell, Akron, Ohio, George Garrett, ex-manager of La Grande, Grand Junction, Colorado, Charles H. Dowler, Wheeling, West Virginia, J. R. Brumby, Jr., Ocala, Florida.

⚜

Recall Threatened at Decatur, Alabama.—According to the Atlanta *Georgian* the city-manager of Decatur, P. P. Pilcher, discharged the driver of a fire truck, which was followed by a strike of the fire department and a dispute that culminated in Pilcher's resignation to take effect March 31 which, however, was not prompt enough to satisfy some citizens who, on January 30, called a mass meeting and threatened a recall of the commissioners to force immediate acceptance of the resignation.

III. GOVERNMENTAL RESEARCH NOTES

The Kansas City Public Service Institute has issued a very full report of its activities for the year, together with a financial statement of its operation.

⚜

The Detroit Bureau of Governmental Research has laid out in some detail the principal items of its program for 1922. Other bureaus engaged on the same problems will find the list useful in suggesting possible co-operation.

⚜

The Municipal Survey Commission of the City of New Orleans, in viewing the work done in that city by the New York Bureau of Municipal Research, finds that "the suggestions and recommendations made, and the form in which they are all cast, will point the way to great economies, increased efficiency, and generally better understanding of the requirements and conditions of municipal government."

⚜

At Norwich University, Northfield, Vermont, there has been established a bureau of municipal affairs under the direction of K. R. B. Flint, professor of political science.

⚜

The Reorganized Recorder's Court of Detroit has been given a thorough appraisal for its first year of operation by the Detroit Bureau of Governmental Research in an issue of its weekly pamphlet, Public Business.

⚜

Flint, Michigan, has officially engaged the services of the Institute for Public Service of New York City to undertake a thoroughgoing study of its government. Dr. William H. Allen and Gaylord C. Cummin will be responsible for the survey, the Detroit Bureau co-operating.

⚜

The Ohio Conference of Governmental Research was recently held at Columbus, bringing together representatives of nine organizations for the purpose of co-operative research and action. R. E. Miles, director of the Ohio Institute for Public Efficiency, was chosen chairman and secretary. The conference discussed the reorganization of the county governments of the state, and the best means of developing a budget system for the 4,800 taxing districts.

⚜

The Kansas City Public Service Institute has issued a 40-page mimeographed booklet, digesting and charting the charters and forms of government in cities of over 250,000 population.

⚜

Harry H. Freeman, formerly of the New York Bureau of Municipal Research, and more recently city manager of Kalamazoo, has accepted the position of foreign representative for the Upjohn Company, manufacturing chemists, and will take up residence in London early in February.

⚜

The Detroit Bureau of Governmental Research has added to its staff Percival Dodge, formerly a personnel officer for the Solvay Process Company; W. D. S. Negovetich, formerly with the bureau; and C. L. Carter, formerly engaged in engineering work for the city of Detroit.

ROBERT T. CRANE.

DEPARTMENT OF PUBLICATIONS

I. BOOK REVIEWS

LOCAL GOVERNMENT IN THE UNITED STATES. By Herman G. James. New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1921. Pp. 482.

A great deal has been published about various phases of local government in the United States, especially with reference to municipal government in urban communities. But there has been no comprehensive account of local government in this country as a whole, other than brief summaries in textbooks in American government. In this volume, Professor James has undertaken such a general account, dealing with counties, cities and other local divisions. After a summary of local government in England and France, and a chapter on the historical development of local institutions in the United States, there are two chapters on county government, one on county subdivisions and two on city government, followed by short chapters on recent tendencies and conclusions.

Under this plan, emphasis is laid on county government; and in this respect the book corresponds to conditions in a large part of the country. It will be a useful textbook in courses for students not especially concerned with the problems of cities, as well as giving a foundation for the special study of urban government. From this viewpoint, however, some aspects of local government receive less attention than they merit. The discussion of village government is inadequate; there are only brief references to the great number of special districts and local authorities; and state supervision of local government is not considered in a connected and systematic way.

The work is based for the most part on previous books and other special studies of particular parts of the field. Considerable use has been made of data in the census reports on local finances; but there has been no intensive investigations of original local documents and reports. In the main, the general conditions are satisfactorily described, though there are some misleading and a few erroneous statements, especially in the account of local government in England. In the discussion of county revenues, the importance of fees is underestimated, by failing to recognize that the census data on fees in many cases is not the total receipts from that source, but the excess of fees over expenses—a result of the unsatisfactory condition of county financial records. The author has a readable style, with occasional use of colloquial phrases, such as "later on" and "pretty much."

More exception may be taken to his main conclusions. As to the county he considers that it "is neither a national unit for the administration of state affairs, nor . . . a national division for the conduct of local affairs"; but as the abolition of the county is too radical a proposal, he reaches the apparently paradoxical result that "progress must lie in the direction of conferring larger powers on the county." As to smaller areas than the county, he sees no justification for them except for urban communities, where he favors separate organization even for villages of two or three hundred population, while cities of over 10,000 or 15,000 population should be wholly distinct from the jurisdiction of the county.

Most American counties are too small; and local administration would be improved by combining smaller counties into larger areas. But to suggest, even as an unattainable ideal, the complete abolition of the county, without proposing something in its place, is not justified either by logic or practical considerations. The immediate program to extend the scope of county government and simplify its organization can be approved; but this involves more serious obstacles in state constitutions and otherwise than are clearly recognized, which variations in local conditions will make any uniform system impracticable.

To abolish all local government areas smaller than counties, except villages and cities, is also not only impracticable but also unjustified even as a theoretical ideal. The existence of such smaller areas throughout the country and in other countries indicates the general need for them, even with small counties. The field for choice here seems to be between a variety of overlapping areas and a single area which will combine the functions of neighborhood government. Without attempting to compel the adoption of the New England town system, there might well be legislation to permit and encourage the voluntary consolidation of overlapping neighborhood local areas, as is urged for city and county government for larger communities. If this were done the separate incorporation of petty villages of a few hundred inhabitants would be unnecessary. JOHN A. FAIRLIE.

MODERN DEMOCRACIES. By James Bryce (Viscount Bryce). New York: The Macmillan Co., 1921. 2 vols.

A notable book by a distinguished author, well worthy to be ranked with his *American Commonwealth*, the fruit of years of observation and thought. In its cool examination of democracy at work it follows the method of the earlier book, a method quite familiar to-day, but applied a generation ago to American institutions breathed the realistic breath of life into what had been merely formal description or fulsome praise.

Lord Bryce has divided his work into three parts. The first is a general treatment of doctrines on which popular government rests and the conditions under which it operates. Specimen chapter subjects are equality, democracy and religion, party, public opinion, the press in a democracy. Part II is a description of six actual democracies with regard to structure and mechanism. The governments selected are France, Switzerland, Canada, United States, Australia, and New Zealand. Nowhere will the reader gather in so brief a space so satisfactory a description of the legal forms and the practical functioning of the governments of these countries.

With respect to the ailments of democracies Lord Bryce demonstrates that all show the same symptoms although in varying degree. For example, the spoils system, which we sometimes think peculiar to America, has worked its evil influence in other democracies as well. Switzerland appeals to the author as the most successful in operating democratic government, partly because of the high level of intelligence and political interest in her citizens, and partly because she has escaped the strain of rapid economic change and expanding size and wealth. Again and again he shows himself a sturdy advocate of home rule without which the political sense of the people can never be cultivated. The apathy of the average Frenchman, who has little to do in local government is the salient weakness of the French as a political people.

While Part II forms a handbook on six governments, Part III classifies the phenomena revealed in Parts I and II, and appraises democracy as a form of government and a civilizing force. It is the last part on which the general reader will seize with the greatest avidity. Throughout, the author has sedulously refused to be drawn from his subject into the more dramatic, economic and social problems of to-day. The latter receive attention only when they influence the former.

The successes and failures of democracy seem to balance each other rather evenly, as Lord Bryce spreads them before us; but on the whole the advantage is with the successes. He is an optimist, although hardly a cheerful optimist. Legislatures have declined both in manners and in ability to meet the demands placed on them. The defects of second chambers are enumerated, but a second chamber of the right sort is needed and a small selective commission is suggested whose chief function would be to choose the upper house. This house would be removed from party strife and would have no supervision over the daily work of administration; it would devote its time to the study of and legislation on the economic and social problems of the day.

In foreign affairs democracies have nothing of which to be ashamed. On the whole the people's opinions regarding international relations have been sound. Compared with oligarchies and monarchies the executive departments of democracies have succeeded. In considering the influence of wealth on politics, Lord Bryce does not mince words. The purest, the best administered and most truly popular democracies have been those in which there were no rich men. He has no patience with popularly elected judges. Party spirit is particularly bad in the United States, but counts for little in France. But, one may ask, may not the greater political interest and intelligence of the American as compared with the Frenchman be at once the cause and result of party spirit? Yet there is little party spirit in Switzerland, although there is keen interest in politics.

Clearly enough, political democracy has not worked out as the nineteenth century liberals expected it would, but it is not quite fair to measure its accomplishments by their expectations. Lord Bryce acknowledges the existence of many modifying conditions since their time, but after all it seems to be their standards which he applies. Not that they are not proper enough when judging how successfully man has fulfilled his promise as a political animal, but they suggest no new scheme of things to bring ordinary people and government into better adjustment. But Lord Bryce is acting as an appraiser and has not set himself up as a prophet.

Gratifying progress has been made in America since the *American Commonwealth* was published. The short ballot, administrative consolidation, reform in city governments, are all

noted and approved. The city-manager plan is called the latest word in municipal reform. Signs of our sense of public duty have grown stronger and our standards of public life are rising steadily.

It is a pleasure to observe that the book shows that its beloved author has been a consistent and sympathetic reader of the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW.

H. W. D.

SPEAKERS

The National Municipal League maintains a list of persons in various parts of the country prepared to make addresses on city, county and state government.

Augustus R. Hatton, Ph.D., charter consultant for the National Municipal League, is prepared to speak on the subjects listed below. Dr. Hatton is a fluent and brilliant speaker and campaigner. He is obtainable on a fee basis subject to prior engagement. (Address National Municipal League, 261 Broadway, New York.)

SUBJECTS

1. Representative Government. What is it? Do we want it? Can we have it?

2. The Coming of Municipal Democracy. A discussion of the evolution of types of city government with a frank evaluation of the strength and weaknesses of each.

3. The Problem of the Ballot. The evolution of the forms of voting and electoral processes with their effects on popular government.

4. American Free Cities. The experience of American cities with constitutional home rule.

5. Is Manager Government Applicable to Our Largest Cities? Conducted as a debate if desired, Dr. Hatton taking the affirmative.

6. Getting Results for the People's Money. Does it matter? How can it be brought about?

7. What Is Wrong with State Governments? An analysis of the problems of state organization and administration with some suggested remedies for defects everywhere admitted.

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